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heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them). 613
The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufanga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haufano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa*, in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*fcke*) in reverence, as the incarnation of their god. All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man. [825] [776]

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. These personages are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak." 195 537 576 622 613 643

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in- 195 537 574 643 576

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terpretations. Either there was considerable variation, or the recorders have erred, perhaps because of the non-use of, and lack of familiarity with, the Tui Tonga prelude. I have translated the word *hau* (literally, ruling prince) as Tui Kanokupolu in the following prelude. It applies also to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

1.	Tapu moe Takafalu	Tapu to the Tui Tonga, literally Back of the Chief. [The back is mentioned because the king is too sacred to be named in person.]
2.	Pea tapu moe Tui Faleua	And tapu to the Tui Pelehake.
3.	Pea tapu mo Haa Takalaua	And tapu to the Tui Haa Takalaua [and presumably the chiefs of the lineage Haa Takalaua].
4.	Pea tapu mo Haa Uluakimata	And tapu to the Tamaha [according to an informant] and presumably chiefs of the Haa Uluakimata.
5.	Pea tapu moe Sinae eiki moe Sinae	And tapu to the Sinae of high rank and the other Sinae.
6.	Pea tapu mo Fale Fisi	And tapu to the chiefs of the lineage Fale Fisi.
7.	Pea tapu moe huhu Eiki	And tapu to the chiefs in general. [The informant Tapueluelu said *huhu Eiki* applied to the Tui Tonga. The word *huhu* means "the breasts" and "to suck," suggesting that women of high rank may be meant.]
8.	Pea tapu mo Faoamanafa	And tapu to Faoamanafa. [One informant suggested that this referred to a chief Faoa of Hihifo district, Tongatabu, but this seems to me to be unlikely.]
9.	Pea tapu moe alofi tapu	And tapu to the chiefs in the sacred kava circle.
10.	Pea tapu moe toua tapu	And tapu to the chiefs sitting behind the kava bowl.
11.	Pea tapu moe Vaeamatoka	And tapu to Vaeamatoka.
	Kae ata keu lea	Allow me to speak.
	Ma tafi tonga sahoeu	May the southern sky be clear.
	Pea o ua e popo uli e alo ni	And ward off filthy rottenness from the sous of chiefs [?].

Three speech preludes for use in the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu have been recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32). Although they differ in detail they are all alike in relegating the Tui Tonga to oblivion and his kin to subordinate rank in the list of chiefs. The published prelude mentions the Tui Haa Takalaua first, the Tui Kanokupolu (now the supreme ruler) third.

Only matapules use the full prelude. A high chief mentions only two or three chiefs and lineages and then asks the king's matapule, Maliepo and Molofaha, to finish for him. Then he goes on with his speech. This takes

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place at a kava ring, as kava drinking forms a part of all meetings of chiefs, no matter what the business.

According to the informant Tapueluelu there are certain chiefs who speak, certain who do not. Maatu, Fotofili, Vaea, Ata, Vahai, Ulukalala, Niukapu, and Nuku are chiefs who do not speak. Chiefs who speak are Tui Haa Teiho, Tui Haa Ngana, and Malupo. Tapueluelu thinks that this is a survival of old status in which the speaking chiefs were higher than those not allowed to speak.

The following prelude was found among the papers of the late Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua or Tui Tonga lineage.

1. Tapu mo hotau Eiki	Tapu to our Lord [presumably the Deity].
2. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Moheofo	Tapu to our Haa Moheofo [Tui Kanokupolu].
3. Tapu mo hotau Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga	Tapu to our Tui Haa Mounga [Tui Kanokupolu].
4. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Ngata mo Ha'a Ngata	Tapu to our Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu.
5. Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mua mo Sina'e ki Mui	Tapu to the first Sinae and the last Sinae.
6. Tapu mo Ha'a Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo.
7. Tapu mo Ha'a Havea	Tapu to the Haa Havea.
8. Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Maafu.
9. Tapu mo Ha'a Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea.
10. Tapu mo Kano Loto'a 'oe Hau (aia ko Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Teiho kae uma'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to the chiefs who live in the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (namely Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and likewise Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa).
11. Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha [Lauaki and Motuapuaka, matapule of the king].
12. Tapu mo Fokololó 'oe Hau	Tapu to Fokololo [navigators] of the Tui Kanokupolu.
13. Tapu mo moha ngaahi haa fa'ahinga 'oku totonu ke kau ki ai 'ae tala 'ce fakatapu na'e fai 'ehe matua ni.	Tapu to any Haa or Faahinga which is not mentioned here but has a right to be mentioned in the prelude the forefathers gave.

Apparently the following lines were sometimes added:

12a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki fofonga kui	Tapu to the heads of the chiefs
12a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki houtamaki	Tapu to the imperious chiefs [refers to Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu who see to keeping order in the kava circle and whip people who do not obey]
13a. Tapu moe Tu'i Hoi	Tapu to the Tui Hoi

The following prelude is from the manuscripts of Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island. It is modern, for the Deity is mentioned first:

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1. Tapu moe 'Afio ae Taehamai	Tapu to His Majesty the Invisible (the Deity).
2. Tapu mo Haa Moheofo	Tapu to the Haa Moheofo (Tui Kanokupolu).
3. Tapu mo Tui Haa Mo'unga 'oku afio (ai ihe me'afaka'eiki)	Tapu to the Tui Haa Mounga who is there (when a funeral is on). [Tui Haa Mounga is the Tui Kanokupolu].
4. Tapu moe feitu'u alofi moe feitu'u alofi	Tapu to all the chiefs of both sides of the kava ring.
5. Tapu moe Fasitapu	Tapu to the bend of the kava ring [where Veehala sits].
6. Tapu moe Tangata o Tu'i Tonga oku fio he 'alofi oe Hau	Tapu to the men of the Tui Tonga who are in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.
7. Tapu moe tou'a Eiki	Tapu to the chiefs in the *tou'a* (behind the kava bowl). [Veehala, Vahai, and Ata are the only strictly Haa Ngata Motua chiefs in the *alofi* or kava circle. Vahai sits in the *alofi* as he is really from Haa Latu Hifo. In the kava circle Vahai belongs to Haa Latu Hifo, in ordinary life he counts now as Haa Ngata Motua. 7 refers to the chiefs not in the circle but in the *tou'a*, the space behind the bowl.]
8. Tapu mo Fale Fisi	Tapu to the lineage Fale Fisi.
9. Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mu'a moe Sina'e ki Mui.	Tapu to the First Sinae and Last Sinae.
10. Tapu mo Haa Ngata mo Haa Ngata	Tapu to the Haa Ngata (Motua) and the Haa Ngata (Tupu)
11. Tapu mo Haa Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo
12. Tapu mo Haa Havea Lahi	Tapu to the great Haa Havea
13. Tapu mo Haa Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Ma'afu
14. Tapu mo Haa Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea
15. Tapu moe kanoloto'a oe Hau (aia ko Haa Ngana mo Haa Ngana, Haa Teiho, kae 'uma'a 'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to those within the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (that is Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and also Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa). [Formerly *kanolotoa* referred to the Tui Tonga only, i.e., the chiefs enumerated lived with the Tui Tonga, not the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression is figurative in a measure and refers to their close attachment to the Tui Kanokupolu, rather than to their actually living with him.]
16. Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha.
17. Tapu mo Fokololo oe Hau	Tapu to the navigators of the Tui Kanokupolu.
18. Tapu moe ngaahi faahinga oku kau kiai ae tala'a.	Tapu to the groups of those already enumerated.

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facing the open space in front of the canopy. And so they quietly awaited the approach of their young Queen.

Her Majesty, having seated herself on the dais, the attendants fell in behind and spread the long mat in a fan-shaped manner at the back of the Royal Chair.

For a few minutes there was a stillness over all, but presently was heard a chanting of many voices, and a large party of mat-clad natives appeared at the entrance to the ground. In four sections, and chanting the while, they came slowly towards where the Queen sat in state. Close by stood the herald in statue-like fashion, and so he remained until the whole party had paid their respects and had retired.

Then came a party with an offering in the form of a large root of kava. This, together with other gifts of food, was placed on the ground not many yards from the canopy.

Meanwhile the body of singers had retired and become seated in the centre of the ground, and preparations were made for the making of kava—the beverage peculiar to Polynesia and without which no native ceremony is complete.

When the whole party had become seated, there was observed sitting at the back of and at some distance from the kava party, a lonely figure—that of Uiliami Tugi, the Prince Consort. According to Tongan custom it would be wrong for such a near relation, no matter how great a chief, to be sitting in the superior circle—which is the name given to the circle of chiefs seated on either side of the Queen—and so the Prince Consort must sit alone and quite apart from the inner and outer circles. The outer circle is where the beverage is prepared. . . .

There was a great deal of formality in the matter of the distribution of the kava and much time was taken up in this direction, but after the ceremony had been fully observed, attention was given to the food offering. The herald, who up till this time had been a silent observer of the proceedings, now became a prominent figure, and with uplifted spear and with streamers flying he warily approached the line of foodstuffs and selecting a certain dainty morsel—a well-cooked young suckling pig—he made good aim and let fly the spear which hit truly the intended mark, the pig's liver. Springing forward he gently lifted on the point of the spear the offering of the day and presented it to the Queen. From thence on the food was distributed amongst the high chiefs.

Way was now made for the orators, and they came and delivered themselves of speeches, the keynote of which was their acknowledgment of the right of Tu'i Salote to rule over the Tongan people, and they expressed their loyalty to their ruler. Other addresses appropriate to the occasion were also delivered, and the proceedings terminated with the retirement of the Queen to the Palace.

The following notes, derived chiefly from Collocott, supplement the above account.

Before the appointment the candidate in the presence of the assembled chiefs was instructed by Ata and Veehala in such matters as the stewardship of the country. This was done in accordance with traditional procedure. As required by tradition the clownish herald at the *fakanofo* ceremony belonged to the family of the chief Tui Vakano of Nukunuku, Tongatabu, or to the family of Tahifisi (32).

Ulukalala's seat is not in the kava ring (*alofi*); his place is behind the general assemblage (*tou'a*). He was not present, so his kava was poured on the ground at the spot where he should have been. See figure 1 for seating arrangement on this occasion.

For the making of the kava many people brought water in buckets, only a little in each bucket. The idea was to show the chiefly power (*faka'ei'eiki*) of the Tui Kanokupolu by the large number of the water carriers and their alacrity.

In dragging the kava to the *fakanofo* kava circle the Hihifo people sang the following work songs (*tauaalo*).

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Ko Hihifo kuo laka,	Hihifo has progressed,
Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Thereby Tonga has prospered.
Koe me'a pe 'e ua kuou,	I have known only two things,
Koe vale pe moe tu'a piko.	The fool and the humpback.
Ko ilo'i tu'unga koau	I am the known foundation
Tua liku 'o Valefanau.	From the back of weather shore of Valefanau.

The first and third songs praise the people of Hihifo and the prosperity of Tonga under the rule of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, whose original seat was Hihifo District of Tongatabu. The second song is said to mean that a fool experiences two things, his own foolishness and a back bent from hard work.

The families of the chiefs sat in the general assemblage (*tou'a*) behind the kava ring. At the end of the ceremony the grandchildren of the lords (*tui*) removed the materials used in making kava and the baskets containing the relish food (*fono*). These baskets were exceptionally large and made of specially chosen large coconut fronds. They are called *kato fakapangai* (Pangai-style baskets, that is, baskets befitting a great ruler).

Apparently to symbolize the allegiance of the great lineages and chiefs to the new Tui Kanokupolu was the use of the fiber kava strainers which were named for them. There were fiber strainers for the Haa Maafu, the Haa Ngata Motua (in charge of Matafahe), the Haa Havea, the Haa Ngata Tupu (in charge of Fakailoatonga), the Haa Ata (in charge of Tongatea of Haakame), the Haa Vaea (in charge of Luani of Vavau), and the Haa Maufanga (in charge of Latukefu of the Hihifo district).

While the kava was being prepared, Motuapuaka and Lauaki argued as to which was to distribute it. The origin of this traditional feature of the ceremony is said to have been a dispute between an earlier Motuapuaka and a Lauaki. Each advanced his claim to the privilege, till finally it was brought to the test of who (or whose son) slew most men in a battle. Lauaki won the precedence on this score, but later gave up the honor to Motuapuaka, who still holds it.

A feature of the ceremony was a series of stereotyped speeches (*malanga*) urging the people to give attention to food production in order to properly support the new ruler. Before beginning his address each speaker moved forward about two paces into the kava circle. He spoke very slowly. To speak otherwise would constitute an affront entailing the performance of the humbling ceremony (*ku*) before the ruler after the installation.

Tovi of Kanokupolu spoke first concerning the collecting of crustaceans and mollusks. Then Faoa of Kanokupolu spoke concerning reef fishing and bonito catching. Lastly Ata spoke concerning cultivation of the land.

Tovi's Speech

Ka ke ka moeia ha mehingo pe pe ke ma'u ha paka pa ha tafolo pe ko ha pesiloa pe hingavele pea oua naa fe-muni'aki ka omi ke fau ha kato ke au ki Fonuamotu.	If you should catch a *mehingo* (a kind of oyster), crab, *tafolo* (a kind of crab), *pesiloa* (another kind of crab), or *hingavele* (a shell fish), do not keep it for yourself, but bring it in a basket and send it over to Fonuamotu (the home of Tui Haa Takalaua).

Ata's Speech

Tapu moe Afio 'oe Hau. Koe tala 'o Pangai 'e fai atu. Ke to ae ngatae, moe kaho, to moe au, ke tauhi aki a Pangai ke tokanga ae tangata ke to ngoue'i ae kelekele ke mahu, koeuhi koe tauhi oe Hau.	Sacred to the Majesty of the Ruler. The speech of Pangai will be given. Plant the ngatae, and cane, plant also the sugar cane, for the repair of Pangai and take note that each man must cultivate the ground to produce plenty of food for the upkeep of the Ruler.

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but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaitaiki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 565 173 167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.) 565 624 123 554

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the matapule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social position of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced. 276 553 428 554

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were used by chiefs only. 565 624 622 516 537

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother). 565 624 428

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niuatoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano. 565 644 551

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*. 502

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and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji islands. They paraded up and down for some time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with several other chiefs in the house on the *malái**. Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow, and striking his club violently on the ground, cried out "this is the club for ——," mentioning the name of some individual enemy whom he meant particularly to seek out and engage; others running up in the same way, exclaimed, "Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall "we land at Tonga than here is the club with "which I will kill any one who dares to oppose "us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then he addressed them in a speech to the following purpose: "Be brave in battle; fear not death: "it is far better to die in war than to live to "be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lin-"gering disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this island, they again put to sea with the additional force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca, where they arrived in a few hours. Here they

* The *malái* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavnoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

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the older chiefs and matabooles, and Finow, in consequence, orders a *fono* to be addressed to the people, in which the impropriety of the conduct of the young chiefs is pointed out: the offenders receive a suitable admonition, and are ordered to desist from such ill behaviour for the future. From one cause or another, there is usually a *fono*, either general or partial, every fourteen or twenty days. It will be easily understood that addresses of this kind are absolutely and frequently necessary, for the preservation of tolerable decency and good order, among a people who have no knowledge of any means of graphic communication. The speech is generally made by some old and principal mataboole *, as it was on this occasion, when the ceremony was held at Macave, about two miles and a half from Felletoa; after which, as usual, a large bowl of cava was provided. The chiefs and warriors of Vavaoo took a very active part in the preparation of the cava, to demonstrate to Finow their attention and loyalty. After the first bowl was drunk, while all were in expectation that the king would give out some

* The reader will recollect that the matabooles hold a rank in society next below chiefs; they are the ministers, as it were, and counsellors of chiefs: it is their duty also to attend to public ceremonies, and to keep an eye upon the morals and general conduct of the people.

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peared elated at this circumstance, he would have been thought a man of a weak mind, little calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the character of such a personage should be, in their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of superiority over the influence of petty passions, and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed the company to the following purport.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If "any among you are discontented with the "present state of affairs,—now is the time to go "to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo "with a mind discontented and wandering to "other places. I have seen with sorrow the "wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing "war carried on by the chief now lying in the "*malái*: we have indeed been doing a great "deal, but what is the result?—the land is de-"populated! it is overgrown with weeds, and "there is nobody to cultivate it: had we re-"mained peaceful, it would have been populous "still: the principal chiefs and warriors are "fallen, and we must be contented with the "society of the lower class. What madness! "is not life already too short? Is it not a noble "characteristic in a man to remain happy and "peaceful in his station? What folly then to

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634 " seek for war to shorten that which is already
537 " *too* short! Who is there among us who can
829 " say, 'I wish to die—I am weary of life?'
765 " Have we not then been acting like those of no
" understanding? Have we not been madly
" seizing the very thing which deprives us of
" what we *really want?* Not that we ought to
" banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power
" approach us with the front of battle, and at-
" tempt to invade our rights, our fury and
" bravery shall be excited more, in proportion
" as we have more possessions to defend. Let
" us therefore confine ourselves to agriculture,
" for that is truly guarding our country. Why
" should we be anxious for an increase of ter-
" ritory? Our land is quite large enough to
" supply us with food,—we shall not even be
" able to devour all its produce! But perhaps I
" am not speaking to you wisely! the old mata-
" booles are present; I beg them to tell me if
" I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and, on
" that account, should be unfit to govern, if my
" mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought
" not the advice of others: for your loyalty and
" fidelity towards him, however, I return you
" my sincere thinks. Finow Fiji, who is pre-
" sent, and the matabooles, know well my fre-
" quent inquiries concerning the good of our
" government: do not then say, *wherefore do*

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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"*we listen to the idle talk of a boy?* Recollect, "whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo "of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Oooloo- "valoo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all "the high chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo,— "Listen to me! I remind you that if there be "any among you discontented with this state "of affairs, the present is the only opportunity "I will give to depart: for let pass this occa- "sion, and not at all shall we communicate "with Hapai. Choose therefore your dwelling- "places; there is Fiji, there is Hamoa, there is "Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona and "Lotooma!—Those men in particular having "minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant "peace,—they alone shall remain at Vavaoo "and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not "suppress the bravery of any one warlike spi- "rit:—Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji "are constantly at war; let him there display "his courage. Arise! go to your respective ha- "bitations; and recollect, that to-morrow the "canoes depart for Hapai*."

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* For the original of this fine speech, and a literal translation, see the latter part of the grammar. Mr. Mariner had in a manner learnt it off by heart, for it was so universally admired that it was in every body's mouth for a long time after. The above version will be found somewhat different from the one in the first edition, and the reason is I did not at that time feel so well the force and strength of the Tonga idiom.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

765 634 [537] Finow, having finished his speech, arose and went to his house, accompanied by the sons of his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with his warriors, formed his retinue. After a repast, provided beforehand*, he again made an address, but in a more familiar and conversational way, on the advantages of cultivating land for one's own food, and eating the produce of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument, he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga, it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

765 694 829 537 241 [514]

[276] * They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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"men feel when they view the work of their
"own hands thriving daily: and, whilst eating,
"when they reflect that their labour has been
"repaid by the increase of their stores: there-
"fore let us (chiefs and attendants of chiefs)
"apply ourselves, as we have nothing else to
"do, to agriculture: follow my example; I
"will order a piece of ground to be cleared,
"and, during the next rain, I will assist in
"planting it with *hiabo*."

No other circumstances worthy of note happened during the twenty days concluding the burial ceremony. On the tenth day, those who were not relations of the deceased, nor constituted his household, wore a sort of half mourning; that is to say, under their mats they wore a piece of *gnatoo*, not to be seen, but merely to be more comfortable to the skin than the mats, which, on these occasions, are not of the finest texture. After the twentieth day they wore their ordinary dress, and went to their proper habitations; so did also the relations of the deceased, but then these wore mats for about two months afterwards, though with *gnatoo* under them.

We now come to speak of the transactions of the twentieth day, which concludes the whole ceremony.

Early in the morning of this day, all the rela-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable quantity prepared by Finow's own household: among these provisions was a good supply of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and others, were all assembled, the provisions and cava were served out in the usual way. During this time no speech was made, nor did any particular occurrence take place. The company afterwards repaired each to his respective house, and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi (literally, the dance, standing up with paddles. See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the grave, bruising and cutting their heads with clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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lips seemed ever ready to express something good humoured or witty. His whole physiognomy, compared with that of his late father, possessed less dignity, but more benevolence; less chief-like superiority, but more intellect: his whole exterior was calculated to win the esteem of the wise and good, while that of his father was well adapted to command the admiration of the multitude. The character of the father was associated with the sublime and powerful; that of the son with the beautiful and engaging. His language was strong, concise, and expressive, with a voice powerful, deep, and melodious. His eloquence fell short of effect compared with that of his father, but he did not possess the art of dissimulation. The speech which he made on coming into power struck all the matabooles with astonishment; they wondered to hear so much eloquence tempered with wisdom, so much modesty combined with firmness, proceed from the lips of so young a man; and they prophesied well of him,—that he would reign in the affections of his people, and have no conspiracies or civil disturbances to fear. His general deportment was engaging; his step firm, manly and graceful: he excelled in all athletic sports, racing, wrestling, boxing, and club-fighting: he was cool and courageous, but a lover of peace. He was fond of mirth

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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visits another, the latter says, *malo* your coming or arrival: the other answers, *malo* your staying here: so they may say, *malo* your harangue or speech; *malo* your work. If a man has borne a surgical operation with fortitude, they will say to him, *malo* your patience or fortitude. 192

12. The figure of speech which grammarians call antiphrasis is very much used in the Tonga language, not ironically, but on the most common and the most serious occasions: if they wish to express how great any thing is, they call it *little*; or how many there are, how *few*: instead of saying, what a number of yams are here, they will say, *here is only one yam!* For I love you much, *I don't love you at all*: hence the word *chiofafa*, a term of affection and endearment, is derived from *chi ateo ofa*, signifying, literally, *small towards you (my) love*; but really meaning my love for you is very great. Several examples of this figure occur in Finow's speech to the Vavaoo people on his accession to the government.[A] The sense of the context, or the manner or voice of the speaker, always sufficiently indicates what is truly meant: this figure is also used in derision, and it must be acknowledged they have a vein for irony. [634] [537] [196]

13. If a man is very brave, it is an usual form of phrase to say, he is the only brave man: if a woman is very beautiful, she is the only beautiful woman, and so with other things.

14. There are several familiar phrases which often occur in conversation, some of which it would be difficult to understand from a literal translation, such as,

Coe low; they say; it is said that.
Coe mŏóni: true; it is true.
Co ho mŏóni; it is your truth; you are in the right.
Goon lillé; very well.
Na ger ifé? where hast thou been? where wert thou?
Na ifé ia? where has he been? where was he?
Iky' chi; not so much as a little; not at all; also (by antiphrasis) a great deal.
Cówcá aloo au; whilst I go. Here is another instance of the pronoun *au* following the verb, instead of the pronoun *te* coming before it.
Iky' obito; not at all; by no means.
Coeha? what? It means also, what is the matter.
Goon te lillé ai; am I good there; i. e. I am glad of it.
He mea cola covi; the thing that bad; i. e. I am sorry for it.
Coeha na ia: I wonder at it. This seems an obscure idiom; its etymology is probably thus, *coéa?* what! *na* was, *ia* it? (so.)

In Finow's speech,[A] which is given the last, there are several phrases difficult to translate; for it is not only the finest piece of composition, but it has more idioms than those which precede it; for which reason it is placed after the others, and to render it more easy to be understood, we here explain those phrases which are the most difficult to comprehend. 192 634 537

15. He mow-mow nai tooboo he tow tai toogoo he tacoto gi mala'i; *he mow-mow*, the destruction; *nai*, the sign of the past tense *na*, and the pronoun *ia* (he); *tooboo*, caused by, or which has sprung from; *he tow*, the war; *taitoogoo*, unceasing; *he tacoto*, the chief lying prostrate

[p. 373]

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 397-400 --Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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(metaphorically, dead); *gi malái*, in the malai or place where his grave was; i. e. the destruction (which) has been caused by the war mocasing (of) the prostrate chief (now) in the malai.

16. Co LOLOTONGA ENI; *lolotonga*, period, duration; *eni*, this; i. e. now is the time.

17. GOOA FY-FY BEA-HA? *Gooa*, the sign of the present tense used for the past; *fy-fy*, to keep doing, to be incessantly doing; *bea-há*, and what? *or*, and what is the result; i. e. we have been doing a great deal, (waging wars, &c.) and what good results from it?

18. TAHA HE FOO EGI MO TANGATA TOW GOOA TAW! *Taha*, one; *he foo egi*, the great chief; *mo tangata tow*, and warrior; *gooa tow*, is fallen; meaning (by antiphrasis), most of the great chiefs and warriors are fallen!

19. Co HE LOTO AHA'I? *Co he loto*, it is the disposition or wish; *ahái*, of whom? whose wish or intention is it? meaning, how could it be helped; it has happened in spite of our disposition to the contrary.

20. ILONGA BE TANGA'TA: *ilonga*, a mark, sign, or character; *bé*, only; *tangata*, (of) a man, (the wisdom of a man); i. e. it is a manly or noble characteristic.

21. HE MEA COIA TAI LOW-NO'A: *he mea*, (it is) a thing; *coia*, truly; *tai low-noa*, not at all foolish; meaning, (by antiphrasis), it is a thing exceedingly foolish.

22. TOONGA MEA; *toonga*, a sign of the plural number of animate beings; *mea*, things, affairs; *toonga mea*, is used idiomatically to express persons, people.

23. O'OOA NA MO MANATOO GI HE TOW; *óoa*, desist: *na*, in case that; *mo manatoo*, you (are) thinking; *gi he tow*, about war; i. e. in case that, *or* if your thoughts are bent upon war; desist, or give up those thoughts.

24. OFA-BE; Oh that; would to God; let but: a contraction for *ofa-be he egi*; which is an idiom of speech praying the gods to shew so much love or mercy as to permit that, &c.

25. LAHI LE'VA HE TOW GNO'OOE, TATTO'W-BE MO IA HE TOW TOA: *lahi leva*, great accordingly; *he tow gnóoe*, our agricultural works; *tattów-be*, in like manner; *mo ia*, with it; *he tow toa*, our bravery; meaning, as the cultivation of our land becomes improved, our bravery in like proposition will become greater, as we shall have something worth fighting for.

26. COE LEO MOO'NI IA; *coe leo*, the guarding; *moóni*, true; *ia*, that: that is the true guarding (*he tow fonnoa*, of our land,) alluding to the above method, cultivating it.

27. O'OOA CHI NA MO BEHE HE MO LOTO; *óoa*, desist; *chi*, a little; *na mo behe*, in case you say; *he mo loto*, in your minds. In case you say in your minds (so and so), desist a little from so saying; meaning (by antiphrasis), desist wholly or entirely from saying, &c.

28. MO MANATOO, CA LE'A ATOO LEVA AU, COE 'FUCCA-ONGO ATOO IA, HE LOTO A TOE OOMOO, MO AFOO, &c.; *mo manatoo*, recollect ye; *ca lea*, whilst speak; *atoo leva au*, to you accordingly I; *coe fucca-ongo* is the echoing; *atoo*, to you; *ia*, it; *he loto*, (of) the minds; *a Toe Oomoo, mo Afoo*, &c., of Toe Oomoo and Afoo, &c. Recollect, whilst I speak to you, my voice only echoes to your ears the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Ooloo

[p. 374]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Valoo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all the chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo. 192 634 537

29. FILI-FILI HE MO MANACO; *fili-fili*, choose; *he mo manaco*, your wish; i. e. take your choice.

In Finow's speech, it will be observed, that the particle *ne* is occasionally attached to the ends of words for the sake of euphony, but this has been noticed before, (9).

The dialogue that immediately follows serves to show a few of the more colloquial phrases. It is the substance of an actual conversation at Vavaoo, between two young chiefs, one of whom has just arrived from Hapai. The other pieces of composition are what have already been given in the English, in the body of the work, and may be referred to, to assist the sense: the small numbers refer to the rules and idioms which have just been given. The words in the Tonga part that are put in Italics are either mere expletives, or else cannot be expressed in English without sounding so uncouthly as to darken the sense. The English words in parentheses are such as are not expressed in Tonga. 521 192

Malo felów my.	(11) Welcome (your) voyage hither.
Malo nofo mo ho egi.	Well done (your) remaining with your chiefs.
Na ger how anifé me Hapái?	Did you come when from Hapai?
Goos bo oos *he* mow how; na mow mohe anibó gi Motoo.	Are days two (since) our coming*: we slept last night at Motoo.
Coe vaca gnaholo he vaca?	Is the canoe swift, your canoe?
Seoóke! cóia be taha goos gnaholo he felów Hapai.	Eh! it's (the) only one is swift (13) (in) the fleet of Hapai.
Low gita coe vaca lahi a Toobó Tos goos gnaholo be taha.	Think I the canoe large of Toobo Tos is swift (the) only one.
O'oos! co mow vaca ia.	Hold! is our canoe that.
Iō! cohai foos *he* mo cow-vaca.	Ah indeed! who all (7) your crew?
Coe mataboole co Mooala, bea mo Afoo, mo cow-tangata a Voogi.	The matabooles Mooala, also and Afoo, and the suite of Voogi.
Cohái he cow-fafine goos how?	Who the females (that) are come?
Coe fafine co Atoo, bea mo Latoo Lyfotoo Iea, mo—.	The woman Atoo, also and Latoo Lyfótoo Ica, and—
Seoóke! aena be óōōfoos he mo cow-fafine: nai how la colhá? low-gita goos lata be ia gi Hapai.	Ah! she only (is) beautiful (among) (7) your women: has she come for what? I think is (1) contented only she with Hapai.
Co ho mōōi! coe founoos be goos	True! (14) is the *land* only con-

* *Our coming*, here means beginning to come or setting off from Hapai.

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enae loto " gooa te fia mate—gooa te fioo *he* möoói."

Vacky'-my! na iky' tow fy gitówtóloo ange-co he toonga-mea (22) loto-noa?

Na tow goomi *he* mea, gooa faoo fooa-be he tow mea möóni.

Iky' teoo behe-atoo giate gimótóloo, óooa-na mo manatoo gi he tow (23).

Ofa be (24) *ger* matta-tow my he fonnooa, bea how nihi ger vete he tow abi, tow fucca-ha-angi giate ginówtóloo, ea lahi leva he tow gnóooě, tattów-be mo ia he tow toa:

Tow fy be leva gitówtóloo he gnóooe, coe leo möóni ia (26) he tow fonnooa.

Gooa tow holi gi he fonnooa gehe co-oomá?

Gooa lahiánge-fow he founooa coeni ger fafanga gitówtóloo; iky'-chi te tow fa gena enne tow.

Neoo iky' abé lea-atoo fucca-loto-boto; coe cow-motooa gooa nofo-my, gooa te hoo-ange giate ginówtóloo ger tala-my, capów te hala:

Gooa te ge tamachí, gooa te ilaw iky' teoo boto he boole capów nái fucca-taha acoo loto, mo he loto he tacótone ger fy-teliha toca-taha be, iky' ger ongo gi he now lea:

Fucca-fetai mo gimótóloo he ofa, bea-mo he nofo-mow giate ia.

Co Finow Fiji mo he cow-mata-boole gooa nofo-my, now ilaw-be ginówtóloo éoocoo fa fucca-fehooi gi he jillé he tow nofóne (9).

O'ooa chi na (27) mo behe he mo

mind " I desire death—I am weary (of) life."

Behold! have not we acted like people foolish-minded?

We have been seeking things (which) deprive (us) altogether (of) our true things (i. e. things really useful).

Nor will I say to you, give up your thoughts of fighting;

Let but the front of war (approach) towards our land, and come any (force) to plunder our homes, we (will) make-shew-forth to them (that) whilst great accordingly our agricultural works, in like manner with it our bravery (25).

Let us do accordingly, ourselves, the agriculture (for) that is truly guarding our land.

We are anxious towards a land different, wherefore? (i. e. why should we be anxious for an increase of territory?)

Is sufficiently great the land this for supplying food (to) us: not little (not at all) shall we be able to devour its produce.

I have not, perhaps, spoken to you wisely; the elders (i. e. the matabooles) are sitting near me; I entreat to them that (they) tell me if I (am) wrong.

I am yet a youth, I know, not should I be wise (in) governing if were alike, my mind and the mind (of) the prostrate (dead) chief, to act optionally, of one's own accord, not to listen to their discourse:

(My) thanks for your love, and also fidelity towards him.

Finow Fiji and the matabooles are present, they know my frequent inquiries concerning (the) good (of) our government.

Do not say in your minds, " truly

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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loto,—" io, co tow fonongo gi he lownoa he tamachi coehá?"

Mo manatoo ca lea atoo leva au, co he fueca-ongo atoo ia he loto a Toi Oomoo, mo Ooloovaloo mo Afoo, mo Fotoo, mo Alo, bea mo fooli-be he cow-Ho-egi mo he mataboole he Vavaoone (28).

Mo fonongo my! cow fucca-manatoo-atoo giate gimótóloo; capów gooa ai nihi gooa fonnooa gehe, be gooa ai nihi gooa tai-lata ger nofo fucca-behene (9) co lolotonga-be coeni teoo atoo giate gimótóloo ger aloo, ca, hili leva coeni, iky' chi te tow felówági mo Hapai;

Fili-fili leva he mo nofoanga co Fiji e, co Hamoa e, co Tonga e, co Hapai e, co Fotoona mo Lotooma e.

Ilonga-be mea gooa loto-fucca-taha ger manaco he nofo he lillé tai-toogoo, —ginówtóloo-be te now nofo gi Hafooloo How.

Iky'-chi teoo behe ger lolomi he toa he taha loto-tow.

Vacky'-ange! he fonnooa co Tonga bea mo Fiji gooa nofo tow be, mo fili-fili he me manaco ger aloo gi he taha, ger fy ai he mo toa.

Mo too! taggi-taha-be aloo gi enne abi, bea mo manatoo gi be aloo he vaca he bongi-bongi gi Hapai.

(do) we listen to the silly talk (of) a boy wherefore?"

Recollect ye, whilst speak to you therefore I, it is the echoing of the mind of Toi Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo and Afoo, and Fotoo and Alo, also and all the chiefs and the matabooles (of) Vavaoo.

Listen ye to me! I remind ye, (that) if there any-one is (of) another land, and there any-one is discontented (with) remaining in this way, this is the only opportunity I will give to you to depart; for, let-pass accordingly this (occasion), not little (i. e. not at all) shall we communicate with Hapai;

Choose then your dwelling-places; is Fiji there, is Hamoa there, is Tonga there, is Hapai there, is Fotoona and Lotooma there.

In particular those having minds unanimous, that they love remaining (in) the peace unceasing, they only, shall they remain at Hafooloo How.

Not at all will I suppress the bravery (of) one warlike mind.

Behold! the land of Tonga and of Fiji are remaining (at) WAR: choose ye your wish to go to the one, to perform there your bravery.

Arise! each one go to his home also and reflect upon the departure (of) the canoes to-morrow to Hapai.

These, it is presumed, will be found sufficient to give the reader a just idea of the nature and genius of the Tonga language; and will sufficiently enable him to compare it with others, to which it may be supposed to have some affinity; as the Malay, for instance, or hereafter, perhaps, with those of the Fiji, the Sandwich, and the Society islands; of each of which places we ought, in a few years, to have some better account than we have hitherto had; for there are English and American people who have been resident at those several clusters of islands for a number of years; and, of course, ought to be perfectly acquainted with the customs, and tolerably well versed in their language. There is no doubt but that the farther inquiry is carried into the history of the South Seas, the more clearly it will appear that a very strong relationship exists between the natives of the different islands, notwithstanding the distance of their geographical situations. Affinities be-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and Tales (*22*) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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128 nature that they may be appropriately rendered by colloquialisms,
and sometimes the nuance of an English vulgarism approaches
195 that of a Tongan phrase. Both alike are the coinage of every-day
speech, but there is an important difference in that the Tongan
never speaks real slang; he always makes a proper use of true
[192] words. Of abusive language there is plenty, but it does not
consist of words not current in ordinary speech, but of offensive
[578] suggestions and invitations couched in very plain terms. Typical
Tongan billingsgate is the request that one eat things that nobody
likes to eat, very frequently one's elderly relatives, or excrement.
[192] But in all this there is no slang, no employment of unusual or
obsolete words.

TONGAN ORATORY

537 The average of oratorical ability of the Tongans is high. The
195 Tongan seems to know very little of the nervous embarrassment
which frequently affects the European when he is unexpectedly
summoned to his feet before an assembly. To European taste the
delivery of a Tongan oration has little of the polish and artistry
that lend grace to the addresses of European masters of speech,
but the crudeness lies rather in the manner than in the matter. The
Tongan usually speaks to his gathering in a loud voice; frequently
he shouts at it. An elderly Tongan clergyman whose felicitous
utterances had won for him a deservedly high place among con-
temporary speakers once boasted to an Englishman of the distance
at which he could be heard when he was in his physical prime.
The Tongan speaks and shouts as his feelings direct. If he is
excited, gestures and voice betray it.

But in spite of some crudities the Tongan is keenly sensible to apposite and graceful language. After all the things which he values in a speaker are those which appeal to a European. He likes a voice that is *malie*, that is, musical and resonant; he asks that words shall be *malie*, that is, that the diction shall be graceful; and he also desires that the words shall *aji*, that is, shall literally be penetrating, shall pointedly and clearly express what it is desired to express. Of these three qualifications, the proportion of Tongan orators who possess the first, the resonant musical voice, is not large to European ears, though probably greater to Tongan ears.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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In respect to the remaining qualifications, graceful language and language that hits the mark, the average of Tongan oratory must be rated high. Although in narrative Tongan tends to become more prolix than English and other European languages and has naturally a greater poverty of abstract terms, yet it is on the whole a vigorous and virile language. 537 195

The flowers of Tongan speech are perhaps best displayed on ceremonial occasions when orations are delivered before great chiefs, although to European taste these efforts are not so effective as less studied deliverances. Much of the gracefulness of diction is derived from a proper use of chiefly language, consisting of words applied only to chiefs and a skilful selection of terms befitting the august assembly.

In more ordinary speeches an appropriate use of chiefly words adds grace to the oration and phrases such as those in this collection lend not only grace, but are even more valued as belonging to the category of things that drive home one's point. A striking phrase, aptly chosen, makes the desired hit at a single stroke. Such phrases, indeed, are among the most valued adjuncts of oratory. The best Tongan addresses make large use of concrete illustration, and such phrases are frequently admirably fitted to be so employed.

DIVISION OF MATERIAL

We have broken up this collection into conveniently sized blocks according to subject, but the division is rather arbitrary. For most of the expressions the section in which they should be placed has been clear; but some of the phrases might perhaps have been as appropriately assigned to some other division as to the one chosen. We trust that our choice of context will be found on the whole the most useful. A few cross references have been added, but it is obviously impossible to give real continuity to a collection of such diverse material. Within the several groups the arrangement is partly alphabetical, but this arrangement has been freely departed from in order to bring together similar phrases. 128

The classified table of contents^ makes apparent the proportions of phrases connected with the several spheres of human activity and shows, as was to be expected, that the sea, seaman- [538]

^ /No such table of contents was published with this text - Analyst/

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539 226 584 554 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 825 622 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take it to Talanuku.

This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony fish.

539 825 571 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing *heli*.

The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers. When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is [461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 825 855 593 602 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.

The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch. About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is reputed to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind to close relatives.

539 825 [537] **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.

This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divisions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken up into appropriate headings.

539 825 592 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish that will swim (run) towards the tail?

The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

463. Viku ae malo o Uiha: The passion of Uiha is damped. 539 584

This is connected with two handsome gentlemen named Tatafu, one of whom lived in Uiha and the other in Haano, both in the Haapai group. Both went to Samoa to pay their court to a famous beauty. The Haano man was successful and the Uiha representative disappointed.

SPEECH, BOASTING, JESTING

464. Fie matai: Wanting to be craftsman.

Used in rebuke of one who "butts in" with his advice where it is not wanted; who tries to "boss the show." *Matai* is a Fijian word the Tongan equivalent of which is *tufunga*, craftsman. 539 571

465. Tala a fine jii kae ikai mavivi: A little woman saying but not able to do.

Bears its obvious interpretation of small people boasting of being able to do what is beyond their strength.

466. Tala pea ngali: Telling and befitting.

Used of one who says no more than he is able to do. His abilities befit his words.

467. Vahe tala: Dividing speech.

One who divides well, has excellent headings for his talk, but with very little doing to back up his talk. [537]

Another term for what in Australia is called "skite."

468. Hua fetaui: Joking well contested.

Two who in the give and take of a battle of wit are well matched. So of those generally who are evenly mated. (See Nos. 469 and 597.) [523]

469. Hua feiloaki: Joking of those accustomed to each other.

Like Nos. 468 and 597 indicates the contest of those who are evenly matched.

470. Hange ha hua mo ha lautohi: Like jesting with school-children.

Wasting one's jests on those who cannot appreciate them, exercising one's wit on those who cannot be expected to be a match in the give and take of repartee. Generally of those who are not evenly matched. In its present form it is of course modern. [522]

471. Tuli pe hua ke malie: A joke aims only at being pleasing. 539 522

There are those who in their jests give a certain amount of pain to others, but still we laugh for the object of the joke is not the pain that is given but the laugh. What is meant as jest should be taken in jest.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 521 **472. Tupua tala kia tamaiki:** Riddle told to children.

Used of a secret that is not kept. If the answer to the riddle is told to children it will not be long before everybody else knows it too.

539 521 571 578 **473. Jio e mata kae hoka e tala:** The eye is seeing but the speech is wounding (stabbing).

Used of those who are speaking ill of another quite unconscious that the person defamed is looking on and listening to ill words spoken of himself. As an illustration the story of Muni is quoted. This legendary hero returning home at night is arrested at the door by hearing his foster-parents within discussing himself very much to his disadvantage.

474. Longo moe loto. Silent with the heart, or silent and the heart.

Used of one who is saying nothing but who has bad feeling in his heart.

475. Tala i hanga mai: Telling while looking at me.

Used of one who speaks fair and friendly words to another, but concealed in his heart are sentiments of a very different sort. A's real feelings towards B are very different from those expressed in his actual conversation with B.

539 521 **476. Aau e mala kehe kae tuku be hoto malā:** To explicate the misfortune of another but disregard my own misfortune.

Used of one who has much to say about the evils and misfortunes of other people, but who passes over his own in silence. *Mala*, translated as misfortune, has sometimes express reference to death.

539 521 571 **477. Fakahaohao mua:** Taking care, heading off, beforehand.

This is used of one who has a visitor whom he guesses has come to ask some favor which he is unwilling to grant. Before the conversation has got round to the point where the request will be advanced he talks in such a way as to make the petition difficult. For example, divining that his visitor has come to beg seed yams he forestalls him by remarking that he has had very bad luck with his yams this season, that they have all gone rotten, and that he does not know where to get seed to plant his garden. (See No. 478.)

478. Lavelave mua: Getting in ahead.

Like No. 477 refers to one who staves off a request which he does not wish to grant.

539 537 **479. Leveleva e malanga kae tau atu:** The speech is long but (may it) go home to you (my hearers).

This used to be a common termination of the speeches made by the *matapules* in the presence of great chiefs. Used generally it has its obvious meaning of a hope that what has been urged or asked for by the speaker will be done or granted.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving.

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand.

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind.

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs.

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king?

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake.

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man.

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183 [524] [524]

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [537]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

764 276 574 767 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief speech which runs as follows:

[537] [539]

> "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764 574 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When this decorating work is finished, another feast is held. 765 574 276 767 Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 602 Commencing with the night following the burial and for the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period *(mohe* or *nofoaki putu)* for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

794 554 Recognition as a lay-preacher brings much extra social prestige to the man concerned. It is a record of devoutness, high spiritual life, and Biblical scholarship (knowledge of the geography of the Temple in Jerusalem, for instance, ability to construe Biblical texts, or skill in retracing Jesus' various itineraries)—and these are important in a culture where Christianity is not a matter for lip-service only but also a lesson in vitally believed dogma. It gives one a directing responsibility for church upkeep and repairs and thus the ability gently to remind the congregation of the amounts one has oneself spent in caring for the church structure. It makes it necessary to be faithful in attendance at all church services, meetings, choir practices; thus one has a pleasant feeling of being busy in the good works of the Lord. It gives one also the opportunity of conducting church 794 services. Then, dressed in regulation shirt, coat, trousers, 796 sox, and shoes (if any), one slowly climbs the stairs of the 554 ornate wooden pulpit and, taking a deep breath, launches [537] forth in oratory and exhortation that flays the sinner with the fear of hell and gently reguides him back along the narrow path with an old, old story that never tires, of One Man's sacrifce and love for mankind.

794 796 It is true that for the most part the congregation appears to be singularly unaffected by oratorical climaxes. Some of them sleep. Some catch flies. Mothers nurse their babies. Children in the first rows giggle and pinch each other. Some look idly out of the window. Some study the hymnal. Only a few, and those perhaps the most devout, make even a pretense of paying enrapt attention, and these have eyes so shaded by hands that it is but charity that regards them as concentrating deeply on the message and not covertly asleep.

794 554 [576] When the service is over, the mass file out through the main front door. The lay-preacher stands at the small back door behind the pulpit, there to shake with solemn hands and greet the village overseer, the wife of the pastor, perhaps a visiting chief or other person of importance from another village. Then the preacher himself feels important and well rewarded for the days of almost full-time anxious study of text and rehearsal of phrase that have filled the hours between notification of preaching-assignment and the actual moment of oratory itself.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

646 to move that the Speaker do vacate the chair, and were deaf to the entreaties of members who had discharged one wordy flood and longed for a Committee of the House to reopen the sluice-gates of their eloquence.

646 The best speakers in the House were Manase (not the 537 Governor of that name) and Sovea of Vavau. The former was nervous, impulsive, and given to the display of rhetorical fireworks; the latter, a cool keen debater, with a logical mind and an inconvenient habit of asking 646 questions. He had served through the last Parliament, and was credited with knowing all the weak spots in the Government armour. In person he was an insignificant little man, disfigured by bad teeth. He sat by himself at the extreme end of the House, and a compact body of members from Vavau and Haapai, his admirers, separated him from the rest of the Commons. He proved to be a far more dangerous opponent than the generous 646 Manase, whom we soon won over to our cause. The 578 chief grievance of the Vavau contingent was the pre- 645 dominance of Tongatabu chiefs in the Cabinet, and the favour which the present Cabinet were alleged to show [563] to the Wesleyans. Their discontent had been fostered [439] by the traders of Vavau, who, in the hope of effecting [651] a reduction in the Customs tariff, had persuaded them that the Government was really in the hands, not of Tongans, but of C—— and myself, and that if there were no Customs the prices of all important articles would be lowered. The king had announced that he did not wish any revision of the Constitution to be discussed this session. Their mouths were therefore closed in respect of their principal grievance, and they were

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.

The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence.

Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu.

When all was over, the king, and most of the company, adjourned to the house of God, where portions of Scripture, suitable to the august occasion,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and, considering the slender advantages he enjoyed, from having only become a Christian in his old age, his general knowledge was extensive. He was endowed with a remarkably clear and quick reasoning faculty, an excellent memory, a fine chaste diction, with the most wonderful flow of language; and a mellifluous and powerful delivery. All these qualities were accompanied by a natural impetuosity of manner, and appeal, that made his public ministrations both highly interesting and profitable.

His peculiar gifts of mind, and his extensive acquaintance with native history and customs, qualified him for special usefulness to the Missionaries, both in reducing the language to its present scientific arrangement, and in translating the Bible into the native tongue. During the whole period of our Mission life we had constant intercourse with him; but especially so during a three years' residence in Vavau. All who knew him, will bear us out in saying, that he was one of the choicest of those good and able men, whom God has raised up among the Tonguese themselves, to be the teachers and the messengers of the churches. In his later years, Fifita resided at Hoöfoa, in Tongatabu, where he died, bearing a most happy and triumphant testimony to the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The early religious history of Jone Faubula, who is now regularly employed as a native Minister, affords an example of many similar cases of conversion, in which great sacrifices have been made on the part of the converts, rather than that they should remain in heathenism. He is the son of Tuiniyau, the King of Lakemba, in Fiji. Under the ministrations of Messrs. Cross and Cargill, he

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them.

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory

[6] *How'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. *(Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

fakataputapu, an invocation of all those who might be displeased at the effrontery of one's speaking in so august an assemblage. The following is the full formula with which a speech should be begun on a ceremonial occasion before the Tu'i Kanokupolu: Tapu mo Mo'unga Motu'a (the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), tapu mo Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga (the son of Mo'unga Motu'a), tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo (the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his chiefs), tapu mo Ha'a Latuhifo (Niukapu and Nuku), tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu (who seem to be the descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'ae-tu'i-tonga), tapu mo Ha'a Vaea (Luani and his family), Pea tapu moe kano 'oe loto'a oe Hau 'aia ko Ha'a-teiho mo Lakepa mo Hoi mo Afitu (And *tapu moe* pith—flesh, heart, centre—of the compound of the King, namely Ha'a-teiho and Lakepa and Hoi and Afitu); pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata motu'a, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata tupu, pea tapu mo Ha'a Havea, pea tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha (old names of Motu'apuaka and Lauaki), pea tapu moe tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he alofi 'oe Hau (and *tapu moe* Tu'i Tonga's man who mingles in the circle of the King), pea tapu moe Fale Fisi, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana (two houses of the Fale Fisi), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mu'a (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mui (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo ha'a fokololo 'oe Hau (and *tapu mo* servants (?) of the King), pea tapu moe alofi moe alofi (that is, both sides of the *alofi*), pea tapu moe fasi tapu moe fasi tapu (that is, the *fasi tapu* on either side), pea tapu moe toua 'eiki na, pea ka ai ha lea e mahehei kuo 'osi eku fakatapu kae ata keu lea (and *tapu moe* yon noble *toua*, and if there be a word that goes astray my *fakatapu* is finished and I am free to speak).

The corresponding formula for an assembly of the Tu'i Tonga is: Pea tapu moe 'Afio 'o Langi (And *tapu moe* Majesty of Heaven. i.e., the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kelekele (the Tu'i Pelehake, a classificatory brother of the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kakai (King of the People, i.e., the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua), pea tapu moe Toua Hili[1] (the Tamaha), pea tapu moe Toua Ato (said to be

[1] *Toua hili* might mean behind the *toua*. Note that in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ring Tungi, who is descendant of a woman has a special place behind the *toua*. I have learnt nothing about the position of the Tamaha in the Tu'i Tonga's circle, but the Tamaha is also descendant of a woman, being the child of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

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those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will superintend their distribution, either personally or by a deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule,* and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the *kava*-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coconut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

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further exhortation from Ata and Ve'ehala, but on this occasion each chief met and talked with the king separately.

On the following day there was another gathering on the *mala'e* for another *kava* ceremony, the *pongipongi tapu*.

On the night between his installation and the *pongi-pongi tapu* the king slept in the compound, *api*, named Le'ole'o, Guarding, Vigil, near the *mala'e*.

The positions of the chiefs and *matapule* in the *alofi* will be the same as that already noted. In connection with the installation of Her Majesty Queen Salote I was told that the position of Ulukalala, the chief of the Ha'a Ngata tupu, was behind the *toua*, and that, as he was absent, his cup was poured out on the ground in the place where he should have been sitting. A man of mixed Tongan and Samoan blood, who has spent some time in Samoa, says that in Samoa, in these Christian days, there is still a practice of pouring out a little *kava* on the ground to God. I think I have heard an old Tongan say that there was an old Tongan custom of pouring out *kava* to gods, and throwing a little up into the air to the gods who dwelt in the skies.

During the *kava* ceremony of the installation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu there are three speeches, delivered by Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa*, telling of the shore-flats, deals with the shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau*, telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially with the *atu*, bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua*, telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure the trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi, which another informant renders Tangi-atulanga. The compound was enclosed by several fences, one within the other, the building of which was apportioned amongst the chiefs. The chiefs and nobility forming the king's court had pieces of land round the royal compound. The names of some of these compounds have been taken by chiefs to other parts of the group, whither they have removed and formed settlements with their people.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches, but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places by two backward slides when they have finished.

The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing, *cala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installation she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was blackened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shockingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643 though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493] not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644] retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643 arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302 house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778] ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643 supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304 had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565 is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537 speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195 his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784 which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643] for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface. Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784 person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576 a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753 without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 521 565

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibiscus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, and represented certain chiefly families.

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was finished. These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made.

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 [726] As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

304 [177] [237] Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

[791] [178]

532 177 The coming of the westerners generally had a detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[p. 13-A]

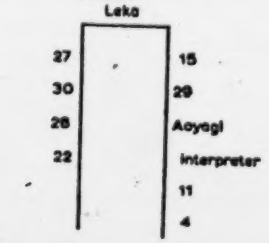
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6A]

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people who were gathering at the circle recognised.

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a *fakaafe*



of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 (town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of 15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who were invited to the places of honour.[30] From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29 is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting of church members.[31] In short, the internal rank of the villagers based on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.[32] It is easy to see that the *malonga* of the church took the places of honour because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could know the rank of the villagers.

30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part.
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the pola in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

122 by the island on the NE and small isles and shoals to the SW and SE.
133 In the meantime the Ships were got under sail and worked up to the island; when the Master returned he reported that he had Sounded between great and little Anamocka, where he found 10 & 12 fathoms, the bottom Coral Sand, that the place was very well sheltered from all winds but that there was no fresh Water but what
122 was some distance in land, but little of it and that little not good. For this reason only I determined to anchor at the old place on the north side of the island, but though we were not above a league from it [it]
122 was 5 oclock in the after noon before we got to an Anchor. A considerable Number of Canoes being continually about the Ships, re-
609 tarded them considerably. There were amongst them some double ones with a large sail that sailed round us apparently with the same
122 ease as if we had been at anchor. I came to an anchor in the very same place as I did when last here, viz, in 18 fathom Water, the bottom Coarse Coral sand; the island extending from E to SW and
Fri. 2 the West point of the Westermost Cove SE about ¾ of a mile dist[t].[1]
648 The next morning while preparation were making for Watering, I went ashore accompaned by Captain Clerke and some of the officers, to fix on a place to set up the observatories and to keep a guard, leave being soon obtained of the Natives who accomodated us with a
648 boat house and shewed us every other Mark of civility. *Teobow* the
634 Cheif of the island[2] took me and Omai to his house, situated in a pleasent spot in the midst of his plantation, a fine grass plat lay round
356 the [door?] which he gave us to understand was to clean their feet
[352] upon, a mark of cleanness I had no where observed in this sea before, but afterwards found it was very common at these islands. The floor of the house was laid with Mats and no carpet could be kept cleaner.
439 While we were a shore we bartered for a few hogs and some fruit, and before we got on board the Ships were filled with the natives and as
122 few came empty we found no want of anything.[3] In the after noon I

[1] On this anchorage cf. II, p. 451. 'Westermost Cove' here seems to bear out the correction suggested in n. 1 on that page.

[2] Presumably, but not clearly, Tupoulangi already mentioned. 'The Chief of Anamooka whose title is Agee, was named Tubow, a middle aged man, more modest and sedate
[565] than we found the generality of these people. Another chief of some consequence was
[537] named Kaper; this man was remarkable for making long orations to his countrymen.'—Burney Journal, 2 May. 'Agee', *'siki* (cf. Tahitian *ari'i*, Maori etc. *ariki*). 'Kaper', Cook's 'Tapah', or Kepa.

[3] 'Kept all kind of Provisions from the ship's Comp[y] except Spirits and Servd fresh Pork Breadfruit, Yams Plantains &c in lieu.'—Harvey log, 1 May.—'This day having purchas'd among the Canoes as much fresh Pork, Breadfruit, Yams and Plantains as wou'd serve the People for the present, I stopd every Species of their Sea Provision except the Grog, and serv'd it to them, so that now we enter upon quite a new Regimen, and a most salutary one it is; tho' Thank God our last agreed with us very well, we have not a Man in the Sick List. This Forenoon I receiv'd an Order respecting the Trade and Provision from Cap[t] Cook which I immediately put in force.'—Clerke, 1 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on shore to Mr King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1]

SATURDAY 3rd. Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2] so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us with other wood. Mr King and Mr Bailey began to observe equal altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity was brought the next day.[4]

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt.

[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good understand[g] between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King.

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*fetaʻanu*. It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 230.

[3] 'The 2d Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Capt Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Instr on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3d Received an invitation from Capt Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom[l] Quad[t] only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between Mr King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observ[y] on Shore but to pack up the Quad[ts] every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Capt Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

spend under sail with land and breakers in every direction. Towards the evening Feenough who had been on board all day, went a shore to Happi and took Omai with him, he did not forget our situation and kept up a good fire all night by way of a land mark.

SATURDAY 17*th*. At day-light the next morning I sent a boat to look for anchorage, she soon found a place and we came to in 24 fathom the bottom Coral sand, the northern point of Happi or the north end of Ha-an-no bore N 16° E, the Southern point of Happi or Hooleva S 29° W, and the North end of Lefooga S 65° E.[1] Two ledges of rocks lay without us, the one bearing S 50° W and the other WBN¼N distant 2 or 3 miles. We lay before a creek in the reef which made it convenient landing at all times and we were not above ¾ of a mile from the shore. By the time we had anchored the Ships were filled with the Natives and surrounded by a multitude of Canoes, filled also with them. They brought with them hogs, Fowls, fruit and roots which they exchanged for Hatchets, Knives, Nails, beads, Cloth &c[a]. Fenough and Omai having come on board soon after it was light in order to interduce me to the people ashore I now accompaned them to the isle[2] for that purpose; The Chief conducted me to a house situated close to the Sea beach which I had seen brought thether but a few minutes before. In this we were seated that is The Chief, Omai and my self, the other chiefs, and the Multitude seated themselves in a circle without before us. I was then asked how long I intended to stay, on my saying five days, Tapah was order[ed] to come and sit by me and proclaime it to the people. He then Harangu'd them in a set speach mostly dictated by Feenough. The purport of this speach as I

[1] See Edgar's Chart XLVI and Fig. 5. The islands Cook names are Ha'ano, Uoleva and Lifuka. These are three of the largest of the Ha'apai group. But Uoleva does not provide the 'Southern point' of the group: Uiha is a more southerly, and larger island, close to it. Edgar's chart gets the relative positions of the islands quite well, though his names, apart from 'an-no' and 'Lafugar' are misplaced.

[2] What isle? It is curious that Cook does not more closely define his landing place; but we know from other records that it was at the northern end of Lifuka—cf. *Voyage*, I, p. 242: 'landing at the North part of *Lefooga*, a little to the right of the ship's station'. This, together with Chart XLVI, where the anchorage is marked, and what is evidently the 'creek in the reef' mentioned by Cook, would argue that the precise place was towards the tip of the island (the point Ahanga), almost at the northern end of the bay called Faka'amumei. Local tradition now records the anchorage correctly enough, but has the landing-place at the point called Muikuku, the south-west end of the bay, just east of which is the village called Koulo. Now Koulo means 'gold'; and why should a Tongan village be thus called? Because, say the old men, when this village was built it was called 'Gold' in memory of Captain Cook's visit; for his boats were full of bags of gold. Cook presented a few medals, left over from the second voyage, at various places on this voyage; and very likely here. Brass or 'platina' may well have come down in tradition as gold. The story was told to me on a trip by cutter to the outlying island Mo'unga'one in July 1958, to explain a sudden surprising question 'What did Captain Cook's ships weigh?' The Tongan knows that gold is heavy; but when he first saw—or last saw, for that matter—a gold coin I do not know.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

634 lear[n]t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to
648 look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few
565 days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they
537 were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &c[a] to the ships where they would receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had done haranguing the people, Fenough left us and Tapah gave me to understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the island whose name was *Earoupa*,[1] I was not unprepared and made him a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me two Cheifs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough returned which was immidiately after I had made the last present, he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Cheif again took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Fe-
634 nough and was to the same effect as the other. These Ceremonies
648 being over, the Cheif at my request conducted me to three standing pools of fresh water as he was pleased to call it, in one indeed the
[312] water was tolerable and not inconvenient to come at.[2] After Viewing
[431] the Water we returned to our former station, where I found a baked hog and some yams all piping hot put up for me to take on board. I invited the chief and his friend to pertake of it they excepted my invitation and we all imbarked for the Ship, but none but the chief sat
[431] down to table. After dinner I conducted them ashore and before I
[439] came on board the Chief gave me a fine large Turtle and a quantity of yams, and we got by barter along side the Ship about twenty small hogs besides fruit and roots. I was told that soon after we went ashore
609 in the Morning, a man came off and ordered every one of the Natives
796 a shore, probably it was to be present at the ceremony for that was no sooner over than they returned.

634 SUNDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning Omai, who generally slept
648 ashore, and Feenough came on board. After some time I accompaned them ashore and was conducted to the same place as I was at the day before, where a large concourse of people were assembled, I guess'd some thing or another was going to be done but could not till what
[431] nor could Omai inform me. I had not sit long before near a hundred
[651] people came laden with Yams, Bread fruit, Plantain Cocoanuts and

[1] Tongans cannot explain this name, or give an equivalent: possibly Alupe or Tealupe. Tealupe was the *matapule* of Uiha, close to Lifuka.

[2] There is still a well at Koulo, once merely a deep pond about four feet across, now with a concrete wall around it and a cover on top; its water is regarded as very good, at least for washing. This could very well have been the 'standing pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo would have been an easy stroll from the northern end of the bay.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question on any account what-

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

repeating something slowly all the time and now advanc'd and joind again, ending with universal applause. It would seem they consider'd this dance as one of their capital performances, if we might judge from some of the principal people being engag'd in it, for one of the drums was beat by Futta'faihe the brother of Poulaho, another by Feenou, and a third which did not belong to the chorus often by Mareewagee at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It consisted of sixty men who had not danc'd before dispos'd in three rows having 24 in front, but before this they had a pretty long preleminary harangue in which the whole body answer'd a single person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses?) alternately with the chorus and made many motions with the Pagge in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with Maree'ai and Fy'fogge, two different degrees of praise.[1] They divided into two bodys with their backs to each other, form'd again, shifted their ranks as in the others, divided and retreated, making room for two champions who excercis'd their clubs as before and after them two others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus, after which they advanc'd and finishd.

These dances, if they can properly be call'd so, lasted from eleven to near three o clock, and though they were doubtless intended particularly either in honour to us or to show a specimen of what they consider their ne plus ultra in dexterity, there was a great number of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly from the inequality of the ground, but by reckoning the inner circle and the number in depth, which was in many places between twenty and thirty, we suppos'd there must be near four thousand, while at the same time there was round the trading place at the tent and straggling about at least as many, so that we had about eight thousand people collected on this spot drawn together for the most part by mere curiosity.

It is with regret we cannot describe the language as well as manner of these amusements, which would doubtless afford much information as to the genius and customs of these people. I have however observ'd that though the spectators always approve of the various motions when well made, a great part of the pleasure they receive seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in

[1] *malis*, 'good, splendid!'—*fai foki*, something like 'Carry on, do!' *Fai* is to do; *foki*, an intensive. Mariner says 'Fyfoki. Encore! as exclaimed at public assemblies'.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

close but we cut holes in it with our knives, to which they made but few objections, and saw two or three hundred people sitting on the grass near the end of a road that opens into the Area. In a little time a few men carrying some small poles and old Cocoa nut leaves came with which they erected a small shade or roof near the middle of the space, and upon their first appearance an old man pronounc'd a long oration in a serious tone much after the manner of some itinerant preachers, which with a shorter one spoke by a different person after he had finish'd lasted all the time the shade was raising.

Soon after came Poulahos son with a few attendants who sat down a little aside from the shade, and shortly after thirty women well dress'd walking slowly by pairs, each pair holding a narrow piece of white cloth by the ends, which they carried to where the young prince sat and retir'd to a distance, his attendants wrapping the pieces of cloth that were brought about his body. Poulaho then appeard with three or four attendants and sat down at a considerable distance from his son, who then went and sat down under the shade with the people that attended him, and a considerable number more seated themselves upon the grass before the shade or as it might be calld the royal Canopy of these people. Three companys of six or seven each then got up from amongst the large crowd a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the Area sat down for a few seconds and return'd running in the same manner. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three different times as they advanc'd, and then turning their backs returnd in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more did the same, after which the people we had seen traversing the roads in procession came in and laying down their sticks a little to the right of the shade, sat down at a distance, closing their hands which they held before them with the most serious aspect as they retir'd, during which time a person kept pronouncing an oration (perhaps a prayer?) in a melancholy tone. A profound silence ensued for a little time and then five or six men rose successively, some of whom were call'd by name, and each broke one of the sticks, after which the people sitting before the shade seperated to make a lane through which the prince with his attendants pass'd and the ceremony ended.

WEDNESDAY JULY 9th. The wind SSE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Having not observ'd Poulaho or his son eat as had been expected yesterday we enquir'd the reason and found the Ceremony

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 would continue to day when that part of it would be perform'd.
Unwilling to let slip any part of it which might afford some informa-
796 tion of their religious or political opinions we went back to Mooa this
[644] morning, but found it did not begin till the afternoon. There was none of that introductory part perform'd as in the forenoon yesterday, and the first thing we saw was the young prince immediately preceding the women with the cloth who were not so numerous today. He was dress'd with the cloth as before, and having retir'd under the shade after his Fathers arrival two men each with a bit of mat came repeating something seriously and put them about him. The procession then appeard which was not so considerable as yesterday, and instead of bits of sticks and yams carried a piece of Cocoa leaf plaited under the poles, but the last part had fish of all sorts which they laid
[597] down in the same place. After this the men with branches and runners perform'd as yesterday, and then one man took each stick that had been brought and laid down, always repeating something to another who continued reciting a harangue in a serious tone, but when the fish came a person always made a snatch at & endeavourd to force them from the others but seldom succeeded, during which the
[526] prince frequently turn'd himself round under the shade. The last part was twenty wrestlers who enterd the field challenging, which was succeeded by several wrestling and some boxing matches, with this difference that one person directed it, which is not done in the common way nor did they proclaim the victory when any one was defeated. None of the people assisting in the ceremony to day were arm'd.

This ceremony which is call'd Natche[1] has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. That it should be done so secretly and with such restrictions as to exclude all but the persons immediately assisting[a] would argue it of the first sort, but there are many circumstances which perswade us to think that it has still a greater share of
[644] the last. I apprehend it is a sort of oath of allegiance which they take to the heir of the crown (who seemd the principal person concern'd), and that the Cloth, mats, Yams & other things are mer[e]ly representations of what they engage to furnish him with in future, as they have done his father, who either from an ancient custom or

[177] [a] Captain Cook and Omái were both present on the place of action to day, the one with his cloaths off down to the waste & the other in a dress of the country, but it appear'd the natives would rather have dispens'd with such a proof of our curiosity had they not been averse to giving us offence.

1 *'inasi.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

purposes, both from their songs and recitative, besides being harmonious enough in common conversation. Its component parts as far as we could understand are not numerous and in some cases agrees with other known Languages, as among others we could easily discern the several degrees of comparison as us'd in the Latin Language, but none of the accidents of nouns or verbs. They seem to study oratory in some measure, as all their public harangues were made with a distinctness and leisure which could not well be acquird without either study or very frequent practise. A Specimen of the Language is here given to compare it with others that occur'd in the Voyage, but it should be observ'd that some of the most common words are some times corrupted either from their endeavouring to imitate us or our misunderstanding them. Thus the word Cheeto was universally usd by us to express a thief, though totally diferent from their word that signifys the same thing, because our people at first calling those Teeto as they had done at New Zeeland (though there the word is absolutely the same as at Amsterdam) these imitated it as near as they could by cheeto which was adopted as a word of theirs.[1] Other instances might be produc'd but this is sufficient to put us on our guard against such abuses, and not ascribe words to them of which they are ignorant.

'Tangata	A man
Moggo'cheea.....	Cold
Kaee	No
Ma'fanna	Warm
Ai	Yes
'Ky.....	To chew or eat
+A'ny	Presently—by & by
'Wakka	A boat or ship
'Kôé	You
'Ou.....	I
Ta'heine	A young girl
Ve'faine.....	A woman
'Eeegee	A chief
Koe'haeea	What is that
+Ooma.....	To kiss
+'Neeoo	A cocoa nut
+'Maiee	Bread fruit
Meedje meedje	To suck as a child. To suck water from a Cocoa nut

[1] Maori *tito* is to compose, invent impromptu, or simply a liar; hence possibly (it is a long shot) to give a hurried excuse for thieving. The word 'absolutely the same' that Anderson was thinking of was probably Maori *kaia*, Tongan *kaiha'a*. Cf. Cook, p. 227, n. 3 above.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Rank in Tonga[1]

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a* to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*) are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking.[2] The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic, and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal

195 chiefs, 'alu for commoners and lala, a derogatory word, when speaking
565 of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related with the
537 language of respect is speech making. The matāpule, ceremonial
195 attendants, are the traditional speech makers and are of necessity
[565] well versed in the language of respect. Speeches are the most important element on all formal occasions--and formal speeches have a definite structure. The structure is in three parts, 1) fakataru, 2) body of the speech, and 3) tatau. The fakataru is usually couched in stylized phraseology and in effect acknowledges the presence of important people and asks their permission to speak. The body of the speech usually alludes to the occasion by figurative and metaphorical language. The tatau is a concluding expression of thanks and often acknowledges again the presence of the important people. Speeches are linguistically subtle and sophisticated, and often by allusion and the use of homophones make it possible to say one thing and refer to something quite different. The structure and language of speeches corresponds to the poetry of certain dance types, which will be elaborated in Chapter VII.A
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SOCIAL SYSTEM

128 Only a few observations will be made here in regard to the social system. In addition to suggesting how Tongans order their interpersonal relations, these observations have been selected because they are necessary to understand the formation of dancers in certain dance
554 types. The main idea to be presented is that the Tongan social system

A [See category 116, pp. 241 ff.--Analyst]

535 538 'inwardly warm or exhilarated,' and do their best haka. In addition, some lakalaka have a special ending called sipa, which is characterized by the dancers turning around and moving to the rear of the dance space, then facing the audience and advancing forward again. The melody and some of the words of the sipa are taken from the me'etu'unaki.

535 538 The most fundamental division is a tripartite one which divides the poetry into three sections. These sections are fakataru, lakalaka proper and tatau.

fakataru

535 538 [537] fakataru is the stylized beginning of a speech. It is also the beginning section of a lakalaka. In both cases it recognizes chiefs and important people present and in effect asks their permission to speak. It may recognize the chiefs of various large societal divisions, the King or Queen, the individuals that the celebration honors, honored guests, the heads of churches, or the Christian God. Sometimes these people are named in the poetry but usually they are alluded to in symbolism. The fakataru can be more or less elaborate depending on the poet.

One of the fakataru written by the late Queen Salote recognizes only the 'crown of the land' and then goes on to tell of the happiness of the people with their Tongan traditions under the Tongan government.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga in approximately June, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony which took place in approximately the September-November period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows. However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops, traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals (and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing, foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amusement and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava* and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

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two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.

Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 papa 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

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First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala),

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but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony

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(Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1935 - 1964]
Chapter XIX.

TONGAN SAINTS AND LEADERS

More important than overseas ministers and teachers have been the Tongan leaders of the Free Wesleyan Church. Their influence upon the people depended, in the final analysis, upon the quality of their lives, and the term "saints" can be worthily applied to some of them.

Among the leaders in this century Queen Salote was undoubtedly outstanding — and not only because of her rank. Her influence was derived from her Christian integrity and her conspicuous personal talents. She seemed to inherit the commanding presence and the eloquence of Tupou I. Oratory is highly esteemed in Tonga. The Queen's clear and challenging voice, with a direct and logical approach to her topics, religious or national, always held her hearers' attention. This effect was evident both in large assemblies and in the small devotional meetings which she regularly conducted. As a poet also she was conspicuous. Her poems were set to melodies of her own composition and were used in descriptive dances at festivals. Her written and spoken English was perfect. Sir Harry Luke (High Commissioner, 1938-42) said of her dispatches, "She writes in a clear unaffected style with a simplicity of phrasing and pleasantly old-fashioned flavour faintly reminiscent of John Bunyan".[1]

Before her visit to Britain in 1953 brought her world-fame the Queen had attracted interest in places closer to Tonga. In 1935 she visited Sydney for medical treatment; upon her recovery from an operation the Church held a reception for her in Sydney Town Hall from which hundreds of expectant guests were turned away. Auckland, which she frequently visited, was regarded by her and the people of that city as her second home.

The Queen's sorrows were many. She often said that these drew her closer to God and increased her sympathies with others. The loss of her husband was a great deprivation. Before then she had lost her second son, William Tuku'aho, who died on 28 April 1938, at the age of sixteen, from the effects of a rheumatic heart. She was a mother indeed to her people, knowing them intimately and being concerned with their personal problems. In no part of the nation's life was her influence greater than in the promotion of the welfare of women. In 1933 she founded an organization for the improvement of living conditions in the villages and the encouragement of handicrafts. Miss Rowlands, Principal of Queen Salote College, her personal friend, gave her support in these enterprises. The Queen organized the first international assembly held in Tonga, the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association Conference, which met at Nuku'alofa in August 1964.

Through all the changing years the Queen bore witness to the reality of her personal faith. She was an able expositor of the Scriptures on both formal and informal occasions. Her solicitude for the well-being of the Church was revealed

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights. 574

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves. 575 462 873 574 264 [262] [252]

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality. [533] [534] [535] [537] [201]

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration. [177]

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to- 621 873 575 462 177

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805 clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall
794 short of the prescribed length. (45)
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45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not
771 inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)
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46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
771 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
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/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is impressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
179 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples, which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at present by their great interest in learning and their special ability to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
181 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
153 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
185 everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often through certain privations, take pride in helping their children receive this education. (50)

[565] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners
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/98 cont./
which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation. After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have not acquired deeper significance within the village community. To be sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef, etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
574 having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand, but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
644 going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
[276] and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony then proceeded in the order which we were informed was usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way twice, the same form being observed although there might be only two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive, and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[23] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies
644 generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after
537 the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
[201] for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had finished, calling out, Mālo-māléeah—very good, very sweet; the king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
644 jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and
[412] pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[237] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
[415] the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had